3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

get to Taipei to talk with her. She then spent an entertaining hour trying to locate some relatives who would come and pay her hotel bill.

The source of Chun-ieng's unexpected happiness was revealed more slowly. Tan A-hong's complaints about her daughter were not completely groundless. Chun-ieng often answered her angry words with scorn and disrespect. She did not trust her mother and sometimes treated her honest need for money with disdain—understandable perhaps, but not behavior expected of a dutiful daughter. Unfortunately, Chun-ieng *was* a dutiful daughter. The anguish which prompted her toward suicide was as much the result of her own self-blame as of her mother's imprecations. Lim A-pou told me many months later that this was not the first time Chun-ieng had contemplated leaving her mother (always with adequate financial provision), but each time she had felt sorry for the older woman and returned. The interview that took place with her lover when he arrived from Tainan seemed to provide another solution. He generously proposed that she give up her plan of joining him, but also give up her work in the winehouse. He would send her a weekly allowance (the sum of which caused many round eyes) and visit her as often as possible until the day when they could be married. After their marriage, they would decide what to do about her mother. This was indeed a fairy-tale ending if it had been in fact the ending.

We had the pleasure of Chun-ieng's presence around the village for several months. Her boyfriend visited fairly regularly and she occasionally went to see him. Needless to say, each of her trips was preceded by anxious ill-temper on the part of Tan A-hong, but Chun-ieng always returned at the appointed time. Their quarrels were either less frequent or less violent because they came to my attention only rarely during those months. After awhile, though, I began to see more of Chun-ieng in the Lim house, often in tears, and I heard more of Tan A-hong's gambling debts. It wasn't long before Chun-ieng started disappearing from the village for two or three days at a time. I asked the family about her absences and received noncommittal answers until finally Lim A-pou admitted that she had returned to work. When I asked what would happen if her boyfriend unexpectedly turned up, Lim A-pou told me sadly, "We are supposed to tell him she has gone to work as a hostess in a coffee shop and we don't know where it is." Whether her lover discovered her deception or whether Chun-ieng

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

+159 +593 548 [836] herself finally gave up hope, I never found out, but after a few more months his visits to the village ceased, and Chun-ieng spent most of her time in Taipei. The Lims had little to say on the subject, but I don't think I only imagined that Tan A-hong came to the house considerably less often than was her wont. Perhaps she was just busier at her gambling.

+159 +596 +593 597 During the last few months of my stay with the Lims, I noticed Lim A-pou make several trips out of the village dressed in her formal dark clothing. I asked A-ki where her mother-in-law was going, but got only a sad shake of the head. Then one day Lim A-pou returned with Chun-ieng, accompanied by a pretty though very frightened four-year-old girl. At Chun-ieng's request, Lim A-pou had found her a daughter to adopt. Chun-ieng stayed home from work for several days, spending all her time with the child, trying to coax a smile or a few words from her frightened lips. She played games with her, told her stories, bought her candy, and changed her clothes half a dozen times a day. Before Chun-ieng returned to work, the glazed look in her foster daughter's eyes was gone, but she looked terrified whenever Chun-ieng left the room. When Chun-ieng returned to Taipei, this second abandonment seemed too great for her daughter to bear. Day after day the child sat in the guest hall, her tiny body pulled up to occupy the smallest amount of space in the wicker chair, her eyes dully resting on the floor. The busy adults tried to lure her into activity and even the children treated her with special consideration, but nothing seemed to have any effect. When ordered to eat, she ate, but as soon as possible she would crawl back into the chair. She never cried and as far as I know never spoke. Her grief totally engulfed her. I am still haunted by that tiny figure of silent despair crouching in the shadows of the empty guest hall. Her despair was to me, and from their sad faces, to the Lims as well, a symbol of Chun-ieng's despair. Chun-ieng had at last accepted her mother's profession and turned her back on dreams of a normal life.

584 cited above the male was informed first and in only one
597 case, did the boy claim he did not try to indicate strong
593 reluctance. This latter individual remains today a most filial son, age 42, living in an extended family with his father having full control of all family income and expenditures. Eleven of the twelve cases then may be considered on one level to indicate a failure by the boy or girl to obtain their wishes. Sometimes, the reluctance was expressed mildly but in other cases, there was a loud argument, lasting days, which was heard all over the village. In one of the twelve marriages, the bride was adopted to marry the eldest son in the family. She later was married to the second son after the eldest son successfully persuaded his father not to force the marriage. The second son also tried to refuse but his father was adamant.

584 Wolf (1966:883-92) found that the <u>siaosiv</u> marriage
581 had a much lower probability of success than normal types which he relates to the nature of the causes for the "incest tabu." Data for Sanlei tend to support his argument. Only two of the twelve marriages would be rated as above average successes in the village. In both cases (one is the filial son example cited previously), each partner is
584 quiet and unaggressive and was so as a child. All four
836 spouses were virgins at marriage and neither man had been to the tea or wine houses. Although there was some ritual avoidance after the engagement was announced, in both

584 cases the men were sexually curious but engaged in only a
936 minimum of petting with his future spouse such as squeezing her breast before the marriage. My own opinion, based on a general impression is that both men even today are rather naive in orientation toward the world.

584 As stated previously, in some cases the reluctance
593 and dismay was expressed openly by the son and foster daughter both and considerable argument ensued although the couple eventually married. Although not fully revealed by the data for the 94 marriages, some couples were successful in their arguments with parents and managed to change the plans for a <u>siaosiv</u> marriage. This is a delicate area in which to collect data for it necessarily exposes someone as an unfilial person. Since the son is usually informed first, if the proposed marriage is immediately cancelled it is possible that only the father, mother, and son would ever know that the possibility had been advanced. Thus, an informant revealing this information would be required to state that his son had been unfilial. Yet, I did find four such examples among current living Sanlei men and women.

584 The incidence of the adopted girl marrying out does
556 not necessarily reveal refusal. The original purpose for the adopted daughter marriage was to save wedding costs and if the family financial status had improved, a regular bride may be brought in and the foster daughter married out

593 in a joint household, she usually does not take much part in money management or training for money management until about age 30 or more. In a few households, the man is extremely dominant.

Sex

• 836 [178] Most brides and grooms are virgins. Today, several of the young men have previously visited houses of prostitution while in the service and many visited tea houses in Hsin Tien where they play with women but do not have intercourse. When the bride is not a virgin, she has usually only had relations with the boy she marries in a love match. [348] Some of the girls who work in the factories have had illegitimate children arousing reluctance among some villagers about letting their girls go to work.

864 Even small children know a lot about sex for the village is rural and children observe the mating of farm animals and know the function. Given the sleeping arrangements and the proper site for sex, i.e., in a bed which will be shared with sleeping children, it is likely they have also observed human intercourse. I remember one occasion when the barber, a bachelor, was building a new three-room house because he planned on marriage. A group of 9 to 10 year olds were showing me around and when we came to the prospective bedroom, a boy said, "He is getting married and this is where he will stick it in her" (See Glossary C). Men and old women talk about enjoying sex when children are